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TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 261147

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PORG, UNSC, SF

SUBJECT: WEST VETOES AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA
IN SECURITY COUNCIL OCTOBER 31

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF USUN TELEGRAM 4260 OF NOVEMBER 1,
REPORTING ON OCTOBER 31 SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION:

SUMMARY: US, UK AND FRANCE OCTOBER 31 CAST THREE TRIPLE
VETOES IN SECURITY COUNCIL AGAINST AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS
ON SOUTH AFRICA DEALING WITH DETERMINATION OF CHAPTER VII,
WITH AN ARMS EMBARGO, AND WITH ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.
WESTERN FIVE MEMBERS OF COUNCIL THEN INTRODUCED THEIR
OWN RESOLUTION FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. TIMING
FOR A COUNCIL MEETING ON THE WESTERN DRAFT WILL BE
DECIDED BY COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS NOVEMBER 1. TRIPLE
VETOES DEEPENED AN ATMOSPHERE AMONG AFRICANS OF
FRUSTRATION AND DISAPPOINTMENT WITH WESTERN RESPONSE
TO CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

1. SOMALIA (WARSAMA) OPENED THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE
ON SOUTH AFRICA OCTOBER 31 BY STATING THAT MEASURES
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ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT CARTER FELL FAR SHORT OF
EXPECTATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THAT
ANY MEASURE WHICH WAS LESS THAN FULL CHAPTER VII SANCTIONS

WOULD BE INADEQUATE TO CHANGE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.
SOMALIA SUPPORTED THE FOUR DRAFT AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS
AND ALL DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC EFFORTS TO ISOLATE
SOUTH AFRICA.

2. FRG (VON WECHMAR) FAVORED A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO

AND WOULD BE WILLING TO USE ITS ECONOMIC INFLUENCE TO URGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE ITS POLICY. FRANCE (LEPRETTE) ALSO STATED ITS SUPPORT FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO.

3. US (YOUNG) STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED SC ACTION ON A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. ON NUCLEAR ARMS: AFRICA SHOULD REMAIN FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD SIGN THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY; NUCLEAR FACILITIES SHOULD BE KEPT UNDER INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION. US POLICY WAS NOT TO EXCLUDE OR ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA BUT TO URGE A CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY THAT WOULD PERMIT IT TO PARTICIPATE IN ACTIVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

4. SC PRESIDENT JAIPAL (INDIA) THEN ANNOUNCED A VOTE ON FOUR RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL: S/12309, CONDEMNING APARTHEID; S/12310 DECLARING APARTHEID AS THE BASIS FOR A CHAPTER VII FINDING AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA; S/12311, CALLING FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO, INCLUDING LICENSES AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION; S/12312, CALLING FOR A MANDATORY ECONOMIC EMBARGO.
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5. CANADA (BARTON) EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE FOUR AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS WERE BEING PUSHED TO A VOTE SINCE THE WESTERN MEMBERS HAD ALREADY ANNOUNCED THEIR SUPPORT FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AND A REVIEW OF ECONOMIC POLICIES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA: THEY HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY COULD NOT GO FURTHER.

6. US (YOUNG) ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THE REMARKS OF CANADA AND SAID THAT THE WESTERN FIVE MEMBERS HAD ALREADY SAID THEY WOULD HAVE TO VETO/OPPOSE THREE OF THE FOUR AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS. US BELIEVED COUNCIL SHOULD EXPRESS ITSELF ON MATTERS WHICH UNITED IT, NOT ON THOSE WHICH DIVIDE IT. RECORD OF WESTERN POWERS IN SEEKING CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS BEEN VERY GOOD IN 1977, IN PART BECAUSE WESTERN FIVE WERE WORKING TOGETHER. IN PRESSING FOR VOTE ON UNACCEPTABLE RESOLUTIONS, SOME WERE NOW SEEKING TO DIVIDE THE FIVE. IT

WAS CALLOUS AND INSENSITIVE TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR COUNCIL NOT TO SEND CLEAR, UNAMBIGUOUS MESSAGE TO VORSTER. NOW THE MESSAGE WOULD BE MIXED (FOR FULL TEXT OF YOUNG'S SECOND REMARKS, SEE USUN 4217).

7. LIBYA, BENIN AND MAURITIUS ALL THEN SPOKE IN DEFENSE OF THEIR CALL FOR A VOTE. IN THEIR VIEW, THE MESSAGE OF THE AFRICAN GROUP WAS CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS -- SUPPORT FOR THE FOUR AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS. THE AFRICANS UNDER-

STOOD THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN FIVE. NOW IT WAS TIME FOR THE FIVE TO UNDERSTAND AND RESPECT THE UNANIMOUS DECISION OF FORTY-NINE INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES.

8. THE COUNCIL THEN PROCEEDED TO VOTE: S/12309 WAS APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY. S/12310, S/12311 AND S/12312 WERE VETOED BY US, UK, AND FRANCE, WITH CANADA AND FRG JOINING IN OPPOSITION, AND OTHER TEN VOTING FOR.
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PRESIDENT THEN CALLED A RECESS FOR CONSULTATIONS.

9. IN CONSULTATION WITH THE FIFTEEN IN HIS OFFICES PRESIDENT PRESENTED A COMPROMISE RESOLUTION CALLING ONLY FOR A CHAPTER VII ARMS EMBARGO (TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL IDENTICAL TO LATER CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION MINUS OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE -- SEE PARA 19). AFRICAN MEMBERS INSISTED ON TIME TO STUDY PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL. WESTERN FIVE WITHDREW TO CONSULT AMONG THEMSELVES.

10. IN CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE FIVE, IT WAS AGREED THAT FIVE COULD NOT ALLOW SESSION TO ADJOURN WITHOUT AT LEAST FORMALLY TABLING A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO RESOLUTION, IF NOT CALLING FOR A VOTE. FIVE AGREED TO ADD OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE TO PRESIDENT'S DRAFT. CANADA AND FRG WOULD SPONSOR AMENDED PRESIDENT'S DRAFT ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE. WHILE CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION WAS BEING TYPED, TRANSLATED AND DISTRIBUTED, FIVE LOBBIED ON ITS BEHALF.

11. AFRICANS REMAINED INSISTENT THAT CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION COULD NOT BE VOTED UPON THAT SESSION AND EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT, SOME BITTERLY, THAT WESTERN DRAFT STILL FELL SHORT OF THEIR EXPECTATIONS. IN PARTICULAR, ITS OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE BASED THE CHAPTER VII FINDING, NOT ON THE CONDITIONS OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT ON THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. (AFRICANS FELT THAT THE WESTERN FORMULATION WOULD MAKE IT FAR MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE COUNCIL TO PRESS FOR FUTURE SANCTIONS IN OTHER AREAS, E.G. INVESTMENT AND TRADE).

12. RETURNING TO FORMAL SESSION, PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED SUBMISSION OF CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION AND NOTED THAT AFRICAN REQUEST FOR MORE TIME SEEMED REASONABLE.
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13. USSR (TROYANOVSKY) REGRETTED THAT NEGATIVE VOTES OF WESTERN POWERS HAD ONCE AGAIN PUT AN OBSTACLE IN THE PATH OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

14. FRG (VON WECHMAR), IN SUPPORTING CANADA/FRG

RESOLUTION, SAID DEBATE THUS FAR HAD SHOWN A CONSENSUS FOR A CHAPTER VII ARMS EMBARGO. CANADA PROPOSED AN ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 3:00 P.M. NOVEMBER 1.

15. MAURITIUS (RAMPHUL) REGRETTED THAT ORIGINAL PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL HAD BEEN "DISFIGURED" BY ADDITION OF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE. AFRICANS WOULD WANT TO OFFER AMENDMENTS TO CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION. SINCE TERM OF PRESENT SC PRESIDENT EXPIRED OCTOBER 31, MAURITIUS PROPOSED THAT PRESIDENT FOR NOVEMBER (LIBYA-KIKHIA) FIX THE DATE OF THE NEXT MEETING. AFTER PROLONGED DEBATE ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES, COUNCIL AGREED TO MEET IN CONSULTATION AT 3:00 P.M. NOVEMBER 1 FOR THE PURPOSE OF FINDING A DATE FOR THE NEXT FORMAL MEETING TO DEAL WITH CANADA/FRG DRAFT.

16. TUNISIA (MESTIRI) SPEAKING FOR AFRICAN GROUP, EXPRESSED "DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT" WITH WESTERN VETOS. "THE WHOLE WORLD KNOWS," HE SAID, "THAT THE FAULT FOR THE PRESENT DIVISION IS NOT OURS (AFRICANS')." HE HOPED WESTERN FIVE WOULD PERMIT AMENDMENTS TO THEIR RESOLUTIONS.

17. COMMENT: AFRICANS REMAIN UNIMPRESSED WITH WESTERN FIVE'S AGREEMENT TO A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO, EVEN THOUGH CANADA/FRG DRAFT OMITTS MOST OF WHAT THEY FOUND OBJECTIONABLE TO ORIGINAL WESTERN DRAFT, IN PARTICULAR THE SIX/MONTH TIME LIMIT. AFRICANS ARE ANGRY BUT RESIGNED TO FAILURE OF WEST TO AGREE TO ECONOMIC AND NUCLEAR SANCTIONS AT THIS TIME. THEY ARE EVEN MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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UPSET, HOWEVER, WITH THE WEST'S NARROW APPROACH TO CHAPTER VII (OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE OF CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION) AND THE ABSENCE OF ANY PROVISIONS ON ARMS LICENSING. THESE TWO ELEMENTS SEEM CERTAIN TO BE INCLUDED IN THE AMENDMENTS THE AFRICANS PROMISED TO OFFER TO THE CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION. ON TOP OF THESE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES, THE AFRICANS REMAIN THOROUGHLY MIFFED AT THE PERCEIVED FAILURE OF THE WESTERN FIVE SERIOUSLY TO CONSIDER THEIR OWN FOUR RESOLUTIONS. FINALLY AND INEVITABLY, THE FACT OF THREE TRIPLE VETOS

HAD DEEPENED AN ATMOSPHERE OF FRUSTRATION BASED ON THE CONCEPTION THAT THE WEST WILL NEVER AGREE TO MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA TO END APARTHEID THAT AFRICANS VIEW AS BOTH NECESSARY AND REASONABLE. IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE, THE WEST'S CURRENT REFUSALS TO CONSIDER SANCTIONS ON TRADE, INVESTMENT AND ARMS LICENSING, OR TO AGREE TO CHAPTER VII WORDING THAT WOULD MAKE SUCH SANCTIONS MORE PROBABLE, ONLY DEEPEN AFRICAN SUSPICION OF WESTERN MOTIVES. WORSE, THE WEST'S (AND

PARTICULARLY THE US') INSISTENCE THAT THE PROPER POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE ONE OF MEASURED RESPONSE, ALWAYS LEAVING THE DOOR OPEN FOR SAG IMPROVEMENTS, FALLS ON AFRICAN EARS DEAFENED BY THEIR OWN RHETORIC AND FRUSTRATION, AND BY THE DEEP-SEATED FEELING THAT CURRENT LEADERS OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE BEYOND LISTENING TO REASON.

18. WHILE THINGS WERE ROUGH TONIGHT, THE WESTERN DRAFT HAS NOW BEEN TABLED WITH OUR EXPECTATION THAT, FACED WITH THE CHOICE BETWEEN IT OR NOTHING AT ALL, THE AFRICANS WILL ALLOW IT TO PASS QUICKLY AND RELATIVELY IN TACT. WE EXPECT THAT MORE REFLECTION ON THE REAL
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ADVANTAGES OF WHAT THE WESTERN FIVE HAS AT LAST AGREED TO DO WILL TEMPER THE AFRICAN DISAPPOINTMENT THAT WAS SO EVIDENT TONIGHT.

19. TEXT OF CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

CANADA AND GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF: DRAFT
RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 393 (1976) STRONGLY CONDEMNING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR ITS RESORT TO MASSIVE VIOLENCE AGAINST AND KILLINGS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING SCHOOL CHILDREN AND STUDENTS AND OTHERS OPPOSING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND CALLING UPON THAT GOVERNMENT URGENTLY TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AND TO TAKE URGENT STEPS TO ELIMINATE APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION,

GRAVELY CONCERNED OVER THE SEVERE ACTS OF REPRESSION PERPETRATED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON 19 OCTOBER 1977 IN BANNING INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS

OPPOSED TO APARTHEID AND STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND IN DETAINING LARGE NUMBERS OF PERSONS WITHOUT TRIAL IN DISREGARD OF THEIR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS,

STRONGLY CONDEMNING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR ITS ACTS OF REPRESSION, ITS DEFIANT CONTINUANCE OF THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID AND ITS ATTACKS AGAINST NEIGHBORING INDEPENDENT STATES,

CONSIDERING THAT THE POLICIES AND ACTS OF THE SOUTH
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AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ARE FRAUGHT WITH DANGER TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 181 (1963) AND OTHER RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING A VOLUNTARY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA,

CONVINCED THAT A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO NEEDS TO BE UNIVERSALLY APPLIED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN THE FIRST INSTANCE,

ACTING THEREFORE UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

1. DETERMINES, HAVING REGARD TO THE POLICIES AND ACTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THAT THE ACQUISITION BY SOUTH AFRICA OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIAL CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY;
2. DIRECTS ALL STATES TO CEASE FORTHWITH ANY PROVISION OF ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING THE SALE AND TRANSFER OF ARMS, AMMUNITION OF ALL TYPES, MILITARY VEHICLES, AND EQUIPMENT AND MATERIAL FOR THE MANUFACTURE AND MAINTENANCE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION; PARAMILITARY POLICE EQUIPMENT; AND SPARE PARTS FOR THE AFOREMENTIONED;
3. CALLS UPON ALL STATES NOT MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ACT STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS RESOLUTION;
4. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON THE PROGRESS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION, THE FIRST REPORT TO BE SUBMITTED NOT LATER
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THAN 1 MAY 1978;

5. DECIDES TO KEEP THIS ITEM ON ITS AGENDA FOR FURTHER ACTION, AS APPROPRIATE IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS.

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